

# PEACE NEWS

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SENT BY JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER

## H-bomb protest Mission in London next week

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

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The mission is expected to consist of: Dr. Masatoshi Samuel Matsushita, President of Rikkyo University and one of Japan's leading Christians, and his wife; Professor Dooke, a young atomic scientist, and Mr. Matsumiya, Secretary. Monday has been given as the possible date of arrival.

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Three bombs are to be tested, the first in May according to Press reports.

Bertrand (Earl) Russell and Philip Noel-Baker, MP, are among the many who have recently written letters of protest in the British Press.

Last Saturday Henry Osborne, MP, in a supporting letter to the Manchester Guardian said "Probably we in Britain cannot now save ourselves from our folly. But the Japanese might. If a large number of fishing boats were to sail into the area and refuse to leave it, satyagraha might prevent what reason is powerless to avert."

Volunteers for danger area

# NIEMOLLER: ARMS AND VIOLENCE HAVE FAILED

## Now for Non-violence

By MARGARET TIMS

SOME 1,500 people filled two meetings in London on Tuesday night to hear Dr. Martin Niemoller from Germany and four British pacifists call for an all-out drive to put an end to the use of violence in international affairs.

The meeting in Friends House was chaired by Dr. Donald Soper and an overflow meeting in an adjoining hall by Stuart Morris. The other speakers were Marjorie Lewis, Leslie Hale, MP, and Prof. Dame Kathleen Lonsdale.

The challenge of pacifism was delivered with power and conviction by Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, with a call for more young people to become the "heroic pathfinders" of peace and for all citizens to disobey the government when it acts criminally.

When a country indulges in aggression, she said, this should lead to widespread civil disobedience arising out of a sense of moral outrage.

## The danger of military pacts ALGERIA, CYPRUS AND NATO by Fenner Brockway MP

FRANCE in Algeria and Britain in Cyprus are the worst examples of Imperialism in practice today.

Liberal opinion in France has been stirred deeply by evidence of tortures by the French forces in Algeria. The editor of Le Monde has even remarked that from now on Frenchmen have no longer the right to condemn the tortures of the Gestapo in the terms used ten years ago. In Britain there has also been evidence that interrogations have been conducted in Cyprus with physical pressures. One is always shocked by this type of allegation, but excesses are inevitable when violent conflict occurs. The real need is to find courses which will end the violence and remove its causes.

In the case of Algeria the issue is clear-cut. The French Government insists that this African territory is an integral part of France. It rejects even a proposal that Algeria should be federated with France.

The Algerians, on the other hand, ask for an independent government similar to those which have been established in Tunisia and Morocco.

ment as negotiation not with any representative of the Cypriot people but between the Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Britain. The head of NATO, a British citizen in the person of Lord Ismay, has been nominated as negotiator. It is not surprising that this proposal has been emphatically rejected by the Cypriot people and by the Greek Government.

The fact that the proposal has been made

Young people should be encouraged to study the economic effects of disarmament, and other problems of peace. Children should be trained to meet violence without violence and yet without submission.

Most people thought the alternative to violence was submission, or that the alternative to slavery was violence. We should train children neither to condone, ignore, nor co-operate with evil.

On H-bomb tests, Dame Kathleen said that as a scientist she had to consider whether certain weapons were worse than others. "Is the H-bomb something we pacifists should work against with all our hearts or is it just the arrow writ large?"

Experts differed as to the consequences of the tests, but it was agreed there would be some contamination of waters and spoiling of fishing grounds for the Japanese. Some children born in later generations would be idiots, or would have bone lesions or leukaemia. The government balanced these effects against the advantages gained and believed the tests must go on in order to prevent war and to enable Britain to negotiate from strength. These were the main grounds on which we should oppose the tests, because we knew that there were other ways of preventing war and that negotiation from strength was only self-interest and hypocrisy: we were really bargaining for our own advantage.

Pastor Martin Niemoller received a great ovation. In the present situation in Central Europe could we claim that violence has failed, he asked? Most people asked him: How can you continue to be a pacifist after what has happened in Hungary? His reply was: How can you continue to defend the use of violence after what has happened in Hungary? Violence proved disastrous in Hungary.

### TO SAVE HUMANITY

The East German rising of 1952 was doomed as soon as the fighting started.

Another failure of violence, on the other side, was in Poland recently, when the Russians ordered their tanks to advance on Warsaw during negotiations with Gomulka. When they were twenty miles from the city Gomulka said: I shall negotiate no further under the threat of violence and I shall go and tell the people." The tanks were halted immediately.

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## Volunteers for danger area

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests are being overwhelmed with the response to Press publicity. By Tuesday over 200 letters had been received in reply to a letter in *The Observer*.

The Council are planning a public meeting in London on April 30 to be chaired by Col. Geoffrey Taylor of the Liberal Party.

The Council is also arranging the showing of a new A-bomb film. "It is good to live."

In India the *Hindustan Times* said in an editorial on March 9. "If British public opinion were to assert itself in the matter, the Government would be compelled to have second thoughts on the decision to hold these tests."

Reporting from Tokyo on Japanese plans to send a fleet of vessels to the danger zone to prevent the tests, a correspondent of *The Times* said:

"The Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, which fathered the plan, declared today that the principle of sending the ships had been agreed, and it was examining practical possibilities. It claimed that more than 100 Japanese had volunteered to go, as well as five Englishmen and Australians. The date has not been decided, and the Council is seeking to send a more international group; but there is still the possibility that the material difficulties of the project may eventually lead to its quiet shelving. Resolutions and protests against the tests continue."

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The Algerians, on the other hand, ask for an independent government similar to those which have been established in Tunisia and Morocco. There are two reasons for French intransigence. The first is the presence in Algeria of a French settler community numbering one million in a population of ten millions. The second is the recent discovery of oil deposits in the Sahara area in the South of Algeria.

Ten days ago there was hope of peace in Cyprus. The resolution of the United Nations urging negotiations, the declarations by the Trade Union movement in Cyprus and by Akol (the second largest political party) in favour of a cessation of violence, and finally the offer by EOKA, the rebel front, to suspend violence if Archbishop Makarios were released for negotiation, created conditions which would enable the British Government, if it sincerely desired a democratic settlement, to end the conflict at once.

At first it appeared that Mr. Lennox Boyd would respond, but when the Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, flew to London his tone was so hard that this hope was destroyed. The British proposals, alas, give no prospect of justice being done to the Cypriot people.

The United Nations resolution urging negotiation has been interpreted by the Govern-

ment as negotiation not with any representative of the Cypriot people but between the Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Britain. The head of NATO, a British citizen in the person of Lord Ismay, has been nominated as negotiator. It is not surprising that this proposal has been emphatically rejected by the Cypriot people and by the Greek Government.

The fact that the proposal has been made that the American-backed military organisation in Western Europe should become the negotiating body demonstrates that the main consideration regarding Cyprus is not the right of the people to govern themselves but the usefulness of Cyprus as a military base.

Once more we see how the Cold War and the division of the world into two military blocs bedevils democratic rights and peace itself.

A touch of irony is added to this situation by the fact that military strategists are now saying that modern conditions of warfare make the small island of Cyprus of doubtful value. Britain's willingness for NATO to take over reflects its desire to economise in defence by spreading the costs with other Western countries.

One of the dangerous implications of this policy is that we shall become more closely tied to American objectives.

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The failure of violence was complete as far as the atomic powers were concerned, because they dared not risk war with each other. "Any Negro tribe in Africa can use violence. America cannot. Russia cannot."

One type of violence remained and that was the cold war. Its weapon was propaganda, which destroyed the spiritual basis of life and reduced human beings to automatons. It was now being used on both sides of the iron curtain. "This is the main problem we have to face in Central Europe," said Pastor Niemoller. "The challenge of pacifism is to save humanity."

The white man had exploited the coloured races through power and violence, but his time was drawing very close to its end; in a few decades the coloured peoples would outnumber the whites three or four times. What effect would atomic tests have on the minds and souls of these people?

Our task, the real political task today, was to see that the coloured peoples took over responsibility in friendship and peace.

Closing the meeting, Dr. Soper said: "There is a great and growing opportunity to go to people now—when they are concerned about these hydrogen bomb tests—and tell them that what is so basically wrong is this whole world of violence inherent in the circus, hunting, capital punishment, an armed police force, and war."

"We began in silence. We will end in dedicating ourselves to peace in a world where violence has failed and where the way of the Cross—the way of non-violence—is our only real hope."

The collection amounted to £185 and more

## Bullets and buck shot attack on pacifist community

HIGH-POWERED rifle bullets were fired



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The **Sunday Pictorial** printed an almost full-page report last Sunday describing **Harold and Shiela Steele's** proposal to go into the H-test area of the Pacific.

### Scientist's doubts on H-test

On the same day **Reynolds News** reported **Sir William Penney**, Britain's atomic weapons research chief, as being opposed to the test because "He does not feel that research has advanced sufficiently for the tests demanded by the Government to be completely satisfactory."

"He has been forced under political pressure to go ahead with the Christmas Island experiments," **Reynolds News** declared. **The Minister of Supply, Mr. A. Jones**, has denied that **Sir William** has displayed any such attitude.

On Wednesday, the **News Chronicle** urged that Britain should have the courage "to stop her tests" and "give the lead the world is hoping for."

A **Worthing (Sussex)** pacifist and former **RAF** officer recently refused to pay his rates until he had been prosecuted and had had an opportunity of making a public protest against the H-bomb test.

He is **Mr. George Burdett**, a Quaker and S-E Counties Branch Secretary of the Royal National Institute for the Blind.

He pointed out that the cost of only two bombers would make the world of difference to blind welfare work.

**Prof. Lionel Penrose, FRS**, will write on "Radiation and the Tests" in **Peace News** next week.

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**HIGH-POWERED** rifle bullets were fired into the bedroom of 20-year-old **Eleanor Jordan** at the **Koinonia Farm, Americus, Georgia**, on Thursday of last week.

This inter-racial pacifist community has been subject to many attacks from local people who object to the community's refusal to operate a colour bar.

The bullets fired into **Eleanor Jordan's** bedroom shattered a mirror, passed through a wall into a living room, and through a door to her parents' bedroom where they lodged in the wall above their bed.

Two nights previously several charges of heavy buck-shot splintered the wall of the residence of an aged Negro couple without causing any injuries.

Both shootings followed an investigation into the **Koinonia Community** by Sumter County Grand Jury on the Monday of the same week.

Commenting on the many shootings and the damage to property amounting to over \$19,000, the Californian journal "Manas" states:

"Are the people of **Koinonia** 'accomplishing' anything by enduring these crimes? One thing is certain: Decent southerners are beginning to recognise with horror the sort of allies their partnership of segregation has encouraged. Already religious groups and enlightened editors in Georgia feel disgraced by the attacks on **Koinonia** and have wholly rejected such methods of seeking 'conformity.'"

"Their sense of shame may spread, and be followed by a change of heart."

**Manas** reminds Americans who wish to help the Community that they can write for price lists of mail order goods to **Koinonia Farm, Americus, Georgia**.

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A GRADUATE of Trinity College, Oxford, who was unsuccessful in his efforts to become a registered conscientious objector, admitted in Oxford on Tuesday that he had failed to attend a medical examination as directed by the Court a week ago.

He was **Anthony A. R. Birch**, 23, of **Berk-hampstead**.

He refused to comply because he was a Christian pacifist.

**Dr. A. M. Farrer**, Chaplain of Trinity College, suggested that **Birch's** claim to recognition as a CO had failed for three technical reasons.

1. Because he was not a member of a pacifist organisation;
2. Because he was not a stupid fanatic but an educated man; and
3. Because he asked for a great deal—he asked to be excused all duties under military authority.

**Dr. Farrer** said that **Birch** had expressed his views sincerely and no one at the College had doubted his sincerity.

**Birch** was the mainstay of charitable work undertaken by the college. He led the students who visited old people and incurables at the **Cowley Road Hospital**.

"We at the College know him as a conscientious man. He rejects military authority, but submits to civil jurisdiction," said **Dr. Farrer**.

**Sir Basil Blackwell**, Magistrate, asked **Birch** to understand that the Court must not take into account the findings of the Tribunal on his opinions.

A fine of £20 was imposed and £5 costs. **Anthony Birch** asked for a week to pay.

FOOTNOTE: If **Birch** pays the fine it is almost certain that he will be prosecuted a second time. If he refuses to pay the fine and goes to prison a second prosecution is unlikely.

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The collection amounted to £185 and more than 200 copies of **Peace News** were sold.

## The Hungary-Egypt Pilgrimage by Philip Toynbee

THE pilgrimage is to begin from **Deansgate** in **Manchester**, at 3 p.m., assembling at 2.30 p.m., on Sunday, April 7, and its full route will be found at the bottom of this article.

There has been some disagreement about the extent to which our action should be strictly a pilgrimage of penance and how much it is a protest against the specific actions of the Russian, British and French Governments.

I don't think there need be any dispute about this. We are indeed protesting, and protesting vigorously, against the major international crimes of this immediate period. But we are also recognising that we ourselves are inevitably involved not only in those crimes but in all acts of cruelty and oppression throughout the world.

In other words the pilgrimage will not be conducted in a spirit of self-righteousness, but of humility.

Another point is that we do intend that our action should be a practical one. If our only purpose in marching were to be that of beating our own breasts, then we could justly be accused of egotism and self-importance. As it is, we shall carry collecting boxes throughout the march, and we hope to collect a considerable sum by the time we arrive in **Strasbourg**.

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### THE BERMUDA MEETING

THE main purpose of the meeting between President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan in Bermuda was a ceremonial burying of the hatchet, although there is some incongruity in the use of such a phrase to describe a meeting whose main result from the standpoint of publicity is the announcement that the US is to supply Britain with guided missiles capable of carrying wholesale death for a distance of 1,500 miles and also, under conditions of American controls for the atomic warheads of such missiles.

With regard to the guided missiles there is, of course, nothing new in this arrangement. This had already been agreed upon during the recent visit of Mr. Duncan Sandys to the US. The addition of atomic warheads to be used with guided missiles, but to be kept strictly under the control of US personnel stationed in Britain, may or may not be new.

Similarly, the decision of the US to join the Military Committee of the Bagdad Pact is not something that has been decided upon at Bermuda, although it has been announced as such. It had already been decided upon as part of the new Eisenhower policy in the Middle East.

IN the main the official communiqué is the usual routine collection of clichés assembled after all such meetings, whether they take place among the statesmen of the Western or the Eastern blocs.

To estimate what has really been decided and where there continues to be disagreement one has to draw what conclusions one can from the reports of the Press conferences and from what is revealed by the various "sources" and "circles" that figure so largely today in governmental contacts with the Press.

In all probability the main substance of the Bermuda talks turned on the question of how Colonel Nasser is to be dealt with in the present situation. The theme chosen for the great meeting of pacifists at Friends House last Tuesday was "The Failure of Violence" and events in Egypt have provided a striking example of the truth that this indicates. Three nations concentrated their military attack on Egypt. The smallest of these proved capable of inflicting military defeat, while both the others were major powers seeking to intimidate a smaller power.

These things took place, however, in the age of thermo-nuclear weapons, when any war carries with it the threat of expansion into universal catastrophe. There was consequently a quite unprecedented unanimity among the nations in condemnation of the aggression that had taken place, hostilities were brought to a rapid conclusion, with the sequel of a period in which a policy of "appeasement" has had to be applied, not as a means of placating overwhelming military power, but in an unavailing attempt to induce a conciliatory spirit in the victim of the aggression.

THIS is the situation with which President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan have had to deal.

REPORTS from the Gaza Strip and about the question of Egypt's maintenance or abandonment of her declared state of belligerency with Israel were quickly overshadowed in the first-rank importance they had held until last Friday, when it became known that the American Government had decided on closer association with the Bagdad Pact. Put shortly, the Americans, hitherto taking part only in the economic and counter-subversive committees, then declared themselves ready to join the military committee of the Pact "if its members so desired."

That they will so desire, is in little doubt.

Though greeted by some Conservative papers as a triumph for Mr. Macmillan, and as his first score in the Bermuda talks, the decision does not appear to have anything to do with Bermuda. Rather, it seems to be the direct result of the work of the US Richards Mission which has been travelling in the Middle-East to propagate the Eisenhower Doctrine, the more so since this offer of closer association was first made in Turkey.

In its primary effects the American move can hardly be welcome to the Israelis. They are not likely to rejoice at anything that makes for closer ties between the United States and a group of mainly Muslim powers. But on second thoughts they may become reconciled to the idea. They know that the Baghdad Pact is wholly directed against Communist aggression and infiltration; and they know that the Communists are the main outside support of all Israel-hating Arab combinations. They may, therefore, see that the long-term effect of the closer American association with the Pact is more likely to work in Israel's favour than against her.

In other parts of the western world the new association will also be welcomed by all believers in peace by military power alignments. But it will not be welcomed by the uncommitted nations nor by anyone who would like to see East v. West relations becoming more friendly instead of harder.



could not do something to bring about the release of Milovan Djilas, who had been sent to prison for three years for writing articles of which the Yugoslav Government disapproved.

Mr. Pijade replied that he not only could not do anything to get Djilas released, but that if he could he would not wish to. A certain coldness with which his reply was received prompted him to pursue the matter further. Djilas was in prison, he urged, because he was dangerous to the Government. Western Governments would do the same to people they held to be dangerous. "No," called some of those present, and it may then have occurred to Mr. Pijade that the present British Government had recently met with some fairly formidable opposition; so he then urged that a man who was dangerous to "the system" would obviously be put away.

Yet Mr. Pijade must have known that Communists in Britain were much more hostile to "the system"

### Middle East Djilas Punch Mauritius

here than is Milovan Djilas to the Yugoslav regime; and yet there is not a single leading British Communist in prison.

It is easy to be seen why no organization allied to the War Resisters' International could possibly be permitted to exist in the totalitarian countries.

### Ungenerous review

SINCE it has been controlled by Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, Punch has so greatly improved that it is with a particular regret that we note the peculiar spitefulness and incapacity for any spark of generosity with which it treats the beginning of the

Nkrumah's book which will not be to the taste of all his readers comes through in most of the reviews of it, but we have yet to read a review of it which matches that of Mr. Muggeridge for a complete absence of any hint of a capacity for magnanimity.

### Electoral Commission

THE discussions over the constitutional future of Mauritius ended with no-one satisfied, writes Peter Ibbotson. The unswerving attitude of the Labour Party led to proportional representation being dropped, and a compromise agreement was announced.

A three-man Electoral Commission is to be set up (when, and who will compose it, nobody knows) to examine two methods of voting. If the Commission recommends dividing Mauritius (which is the size of Surrey) into 30-40 single-member constituencies, that will be done. If this is impossible, eleven three-member constituencies will be drawn in which elections will be by party list system.

When framing its recommendations, the Commission must try to ensure that:

- (a) all constituencies have approximately equal electorates, with at least 5,000 voters;
- (b) each main section of the population has adequate opportunity to secure representation in the Legislative Council corresponding to its strength throughout the community;
- (c) constituency boundaries are geographically reasonable; and
- (d) constituency boundaries must last for a reasonable period while remaining consistent with (a) and (b).

These conditions make it virtually certain that the Commission will settle for three-member constituencies and the list system (which particular variation has not yet been announced), though already it has been suggested that Mauritius is small enough for the whole island to form one constituency electing 33 members (Israel votes in this way).

### Governor's



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THIS is the situation with which President Eisenhower and Mr. Macmillan have had to deal.

If we read the signs aright what they will seek to do will be to bring back the negotiations to the point at which they were before France and Britain sought to settle the matter by resort to war—a complete demonstration of the failure of violence.

The communiqué reaffirms the six points that were before the Security Council at its meeting in October. These include agreement between the canal users and Egypt on tolls, with the allotment of a fair proportion of the canal revenues to development. At a Press conference Mr. Macmillan remarked that proposals had been agreed between the US and Britain for both a short-term and a long-term solution of the canal dispute. It is highly probable that behind this remark lies the examination of possible alternatives to the canal for the transport of oil. It was to such means as this that the British Government was looking to provide a basis for negotiations on the canal before the Franco-British military attack was launched. The conception broke down because the US, as represented by Mr. Dulles, refused the extent of co-operation that Britain desired. It is probably on this point that some joint plan has now been settled.

For the rest the communiqué indicates the resolve of both the US and Britain to go ahead with the testing of nuclear weapons despite the Japanese protests. Emphasis is placed on the "restraint" that is being exercised and the offer is made to permit the tests to be observed by Russian representatives on a reciprocal basis. The London disarmament talks are referred to, but it is made evident that neither Britain nor America are prepared that these talks shall result in a halt to the tests.

## COLD WAR EXTENSION TO INDONESIA ?

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TWO reports from Jakarta, Indonesia, on March 19 are of world interest. The first was to the effect that General Maxwell Taylor, the US Chief of Staff, now on a three weeks' tour of the Far East and the Pacific, is due to arrive in Indonesia on April 3. The second, that Soviet President Voroshilov is expected early in May

Government can hardly be said to run. Oversimplification though this may be, it may be said that the main reason for this state of affairs lies in the Central Government's appropriation of earnings originating in parts of the realm outside of Java, while these productive areas have

to do with Bermuda. Rather, it seems to be the direct result of the work of the US Richards Mission which has been travelling in the Middle-East to propagate the Eisenhower Doctrine, the more so since this offer of closer association was first made in Turkey.

In its primary effects the American move can hardly be welcome to the Israelis. They are not likely to rejoice at anything that makes for closer ties between the United States and a group of mainly Muslim powers. But on second thoughts they may become reconciled to the idea. They know that the Baghdad Pact is wholly directed against Communist aggression and infiltration; and they know that the Communists are the main outside support of all Israel-hating Arab combinations. They may, therefore, see that the long-term effect of the closer American association with the Pact is more likely to work in Israel's favour than against her.

In other parts of the western world the new association will also be welcomed by all believers in peace by military power alignments. But it will not be welcomed by the uncommitted nations nor by anyone who would like to see East v. West relations becoming more friendly instead of harder.

## Dangerous

A FEW days before his death Mr. Moshe Pijade, President of the Yugoslav Parliament, was the guest in London at a luncheon of the Foreign Press Association. An incident that occurred after the meal provides a warning of the difficulty that people accustomed to fundamentally different types of political regime find in understanding each other.

Mr. Pijade had not lived his life, like most of his compatriots—and the majority of the inhabitants of the other Eastern European totalitarian countries—cut off from contact with the Western peoples. He had spent part of his youth in Munich and Paris as an art student, and he was, of course, capable of reading the Western newspapers.

He had spent many years in prison and this fact prompted one of the journalists present to ask whether he

reviving the old cry of "foreign subversion," none of which can possibly have been needed to produce the unrest.

The Sastroadmidjojo Cabinet having been forced to resign, Mr. Suwirjo, the leader of the Nationalist Party, was entrusted the following day with the task of forming a new Cabinet.

to "the system" would obviously be put away.

Yet Mr. Pijade must have known that Communists in Britain were much more hostile to "the system"

## Middle East Djilas Punch Mauritius

here than is Milovan Djilas to the Yugoslav regime; and yet there is not a single leading British Communist in prison.

It is easy to be seen why no organisation allied to the War Resisters' International could possibly be permitted to exist in the totalitarian countries.

## Ungenerous review

SINCE it has been controlled by Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, Punch has so greatly improved that it is with a particular regret that we note the peculiar spitefulness and incapacity for any spark of generosity with which it treats the beginning of the Gold Coast's adventure in independence as Ghana.

The middle four pages of last week's issue were devoted to a fake Stationery Office paper "Introducing Ghana." There is some quite good fun in this and some sound implied commentary, particularly relating to the lack of balance in the country's economy arising from an over-dependence on the production and export of cocoa.

As the reader comes to the end of these pages he is likely to feel a regret that the humour is so acid and that there is not the faintest suggestion of good will; but he will be inclined to conclude that this is just an unlucky accident arising coincidentally in the mood of the contributors.

In the book-pages of the same issue of Punch, however, is a review of Kwame Nkrumah's autobiography written by Mr. Muggeridge himself; and this makes it evident that the temper of the earlier contributions is deliberate.

Mr. Muggeridge apparently regrets that colleges like Achimota have ever been put at the disposal of Africans and the "lesser breeds without the law": it is "one of those estimable higher educational institutions which have fed into Asia, Africa and the Middle East a steady flow of discontent, restlessness and demagoguery."

That there are aspects of Kwame

to be set up (when, and how, it will compose it, nobody knows) to examine two methods of voting. If the Commission recommends dividing Mauritius (which is the size of Surrey) into 30-40 single-member constituencies, that will be done. If this is impossible, eleven three-member constituencies will be drawn in which elections will be by party list system.

When framing its recommendations, the Commission must try to ensure that:

- (a) all constituencies have approximately equal electorates, with at least 5,000 voters;
  - (b) each main section of the population has adequate opportunity to secure representation in the Legislative Council corresponding to its strength throughout the community;
  - (c) constituency boundaries are geographically reasonable; and
  - (d) constituency boundaries must last for a reasonable period while remaining consistent with (a) and (b).
- These conditions make it virtually certain that the Commission will settle for three-member constituencies and the list system (which particular variation has not yet been announced), though already it has been suggested that Mauritius is small enough for the whole island to form one constituency electing 33 members (Israel votes in this way).

## Governor's powers

WHICHEVER system of voting is preferred, the Governor retains power to nominate up to 12 members "at his discretion after such consultation with members of the Legislative Council as he might deem appropriate." The Executive Council must "reflect the composition of the Legislative Council" and appointment thereto "will be by the Governor in accordance with this principle after consultation at his discretion with members of the Legislative Council."

The Left-wing Mauritius Times says "The nomination process will considerably increase the Governor's powers. It will be possible for him to have the kind of Legislative Council he wants and the kind of Executive Council he wants. Where is Responsible Government?" The Right-wing daily, *Cerneen*, declares the impossibility of single-member constituencies and attacks the lack of precision in the party list proposals. "On se moque de nous" it says; "We are being trifled with."

Assailed thus from Left and Right, the compromise has received little support. Prolonged dissatisfaction is expected, for provision has already been made for postponing if necessary the next general election—due in August, 1958—until a satisfactory settlement has been achieved.



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TWO reports from Jakarta, Indonesia, on March 19 are of world interest. The first was to the effect that General Maxwell Taylor, the US Chief of Staff, now on a three weeks' tour of the Far East and the Pacific, is due to arrive in Indonesia on April 3. The second, that Soviet President Voroshilov is expected early in May on a 17-day state visit, in return for President Sukarno's state visit to Russia last year.

### The two visits

Mr. Voroshilov will be accompanied by a number of officials and military experts, and the party will visit Bandung, Jogjakarta, Surakarta and Surabaya in Java, the island of Bali, and Medan in North Sumatra. It may be said, rightly, that there is little comparison between the two visits—the one a mere halt in the course of a military man's tour, the other a ceremonial visit by a head of state. But particularly in view of the fact that Indonesia is one of the "uncommitted" nations the two visits are symptomatic of the present struggle between the Western and Communist worlds for the soul of Indonesia.

Thoughts of this kind are strengthened by the poor condition in which the Republic finds itself, in barely disguisable need of outside help. Over large parts of its enormous territory the writ of the Jakarta

Government can hardly be said to run. Oversimplification though this may be, it may be said that the main reason for this state of affairs lies in the Central Government's appropriation of earnings originating in parts of the realm outside of Java, while these productive areas have even less to show in the social and economic progress of the ordinary people than Java itself.

It is there, too, that large estates owned by non-Indonesians are still to be found in great number, pulling sympathies towards Communism. And in certain parts of Sumatra, which lies so close to Singapore, there is yet another trend: thoughts—so far perhaps only dreams—of a general federation of the whole Malayan world, including the "British" parts of it once they have gained their independence, of which Jakarta would not necessarily be the head. It can thus be seen that the pattern of the Republic's difficulties is a complicated one.

### Federation

In the meantime, President Sukarno's appeals for national solidarity and for the maintenance of law and order continue. But he had to declare "a state of war and siege" throughout the realm on March 14; and the Indonesian part of Borneo, the greater part of Sumatra, Celebes, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands are all under purely military control. And, as usual in such conditions, the Jakarta Government is

reviving the old cry of "foreign subversion," none of which can possibly have been needed to produce the unrest.

The Sastramidjojo Cabinet having been forced to resign, Mr. Suwirjo, the leader of the Nationalist Party, was entrusted the following day with the task of forming a new Cabinet "within the framework of the conception" announced by the President on February 21 for the setting up of a National Council empowered to exert an unspecified, but clearly decisive, influence over the Government.

### The Communists

If Mr. Suwirjo had succeeded, the resulting Cabinet would have been a coalition which would have included the Nationalists and the orthodox Islamic Nahdudul Ulama but *not* the Communists and *not* the anti-Communist Masjumi Party. But he failed, and after this had become known the powerful Communist Trade Union Federation SOBSI announced, on March 20, that it would call a total strike "throughout the country" if a Cabinet were formed in which the Masjumi Party were included and the Communists excluded.

Without going any further, this shows how the cold war is penetrating into the internal affairs of one of the countries still generally regarded as uncommitted. And with every such extension the problem of getting the world back to a condition of real peace only grows vaster.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### Change of name

THAT valuable little quarterly, the IFOR Newsletter, has changed its title and format and become an attractive pocket magazine with the title "Christus Victor."

The journal of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, it can be obtained in the UK from 185 Grays Inn Road (4s. yearly), or in the USA from the new headquarters of the FoR there, Box 271, Nyack, New York (\$1).

It is indispensable reading material for those who take their stand against war on Christian grounds. Important too is the fact that both Catholics and Protestants are among the contributors.

### Applause for Menuhin

I HAVE just heard of a delightful incident which occurred when Yehudi Menuhin played to an audience of 500 non-Europeans in South Africa towards the end of last year.

Anxious to avoid embarrassing his

audience when some of them applauded during the pause between two movements, Yehudi bowed and quickly tapped his accompanist, young Manuel Villet, who, too, rose and bowed.

### Exchange—not gift

MENUHIN took no fee for the concert which was organised at his request. The audience paid 1s. each and the proceeds were given to the Port Elizabeth Orchestral Society.

Thanked for his "charming and wonderful gesture," Yehudi Menuhin replied:

"I have played for you because I owe your tradition in India and Africa a great deal—particularly Africa for the colour and vivacity people from Africa brought to American music. So my playing for you is an exchange, and not a gift."

He had played more or less the same programme he had given to a European audience the previous night, but, said a S. African press report, "if anything he played with more spirit this time."



## Military Church danger in U.S. Army

LUTHERAN leaders were warned recently, by the Rev. Dr. Engebret Midboe, head of the Bureau of Service to Military Personnel of the National Lutheran Council, against a tendency in the Armed Forces to develop a "military church."

Dr. Midboe took exception to the "general Protestant devotional service" of the Armed Forces, which he charged as having little if any connection with the doctrine of the civilian denomination with which the chaplain may be affiliated. "One would not dare deviate from what has already been set down for fear that there would be administrative consequences," he commented.

Dr. Midboe told the council that a newly arrived chaplain finds himself confronted with a hymnal published jointly by the three services. At the same time, the Lutheran official declared, it has "almost become a law" that chaplains make use of the Component List of Religious Facilities prepared by a committee of the Joint Chaplain Board.

There is taking place a separation between the Service Church and the civilian denomination added Dr. Midboe and this schism is "a general drift away from the denominational moorings into a type of religious community which seems to operate with the least tension in the Military Services." Reports of the National Lutheran Council Meeting in Atlantic City appeared in the New York Times on January 31.

## PAX BULLETIN

THE Roman Catholic "Pax Bulletin" will now appear quarterly it is hoped. The subscription is 5s. a year and copies may be obtained from the Secretary, John O'Connor, 37 Northiam Park, London, N.12.

Father Franziskus Stratmann, OP, writing in Pax Bulletin, considering the relation of the Christian to the State says:

"But there are cases when a man is not allowed to obey the State. This is stated in Holy Scripture and in all books of Catholic moral theology. The State is not God, and 'We ought to obey God rather than men' (Acts v. 29), even in war. (Bombing of open towns belongs to the morally objectionable actions of war. Herder's SOCIAL CATECHISM II 343.)

## War: a crime

A WAR between USSR and USA from whatever angle one views is could never be called "just." It would, on the contrary be the greatest crime that could be committed against humanity. And I believe that the pre-

## Germany: well over 1,000 refuse conscription

The two following reports from Germany deal with the response of the youth to conscription. There are well over 1,000 conscientious objectors says one correspondent though the Government has announced only 350, while the number of young men who refused to register is unknown.

Hans-Konrad Tempel, a Hamburg student and war resister, while disappointed over the number of COs, expects a different story when the 25-year-olds, who have known the full horrors of war, are called up.

by our West Berlin correspondent

THE tendency of the Ministry of Defence is to indicate that the idea of refusing military service is an utter failure and that only very few have stood firm to this idea.

But the facts are otherwise.

The Conscription Law says that young men have to register as COs two weeks before the date they have been summoned for medical and other examinations.

The Government gave its total of 350 COs long before all the boys had been required to register as COs and it is known that the figure is really far beyond the 1,000 mark.

Clearly visible is the influence of different pacifist groups. There are regions where nearly all who registered are Jehovah's Witnesses, others where members of the German War Resisters' Branch dominate.

by HANS-KONRAD TEMPEL

IN all the great towns and in most of the smaller places throughout Germany, pacifists have been arranging meetings within the last few months to stir the conscience of the people.

Two MPs, members of the German Labour Party (SPD), which has declared itself against conscription, and other excellent speakers have addressed meetings of over 1,000 people in many big towns.

The War Resisters' International, too, has been active and many young people have asked for information about conscientious objection.

The Press, however, was unanimous in expecting the youth to accept "the necessity to defend the free world."

When registration began the Press reported in large headlines that several hundred men had failed to register, but later the emphasis was on the fact that only 350 young men had registered as COs.

An official statement has expressed the Government's deep satisfaction at the success of its campaign for military service. But what will happen when the young men born between 1925 and 1935 are called up? This is the generation which knows what war really means, which has felt and learned what madness it is to rely on weapons.

The present 20-year-olds who have been called for military service do not know what it means to state one's own opinion or to exercise one's legal rights. The vast majority could not resist the temptation of being trained in technical skills, which was one of the main points of the Government's advertising campaign for the army.

### TRIAL OF 13 MEN

The pacifists have been in a difficult situation. The first step was to say "No," even to cry "No" when people seemed indifferent.

Hundreds of meetings, especially in Bavaria, were held under the slogan "How to Remain a Civilian," while in other districts the slogan was "Say No to Conscription."

But the young men of 20 wanted the opportunities and the skills which military service offered; to serve in the Army, Navy or Air Force promised much more pleasure.

These young soldiers will have to serve 12 months, while COs will have to serve nine

## PENNY A MONTH TO FIGHT WANT

From Olwen Battersby

"The United States of America has used up more mineral wealth—gold, iron, steel—and more raw materials, in the ten or eleven years since 1945, than had been consumed by the rest of the world in the whole of recorded history."

THIS was one of the astounding statements listed by Harold Campbell, Assistant Secretary, London Co-operative Party, when addressing the first public meeting organised by the newly formed North London Action Council for War on Want.

Today two-thirds of the world's population was hungry; one half of the world's children had no education whatsoever; population was increasing—a year hence there would be twenty million more mouths to feed in the world. The wealthy nations were the greedy nations. To build for the future except on the basis of "one world" would be to perish.

"I would like to see the Labour Party organise a large campaign on this subject now," said Joseph Murumbi, former General Secretary of the Africa National Union. Only so would the allocation of one per cent of the national income—to which the Labour Party were committed—be readily accepted by the people as a whole.

### Adopt an Indian well

But the small project, the individual gift, the "bringing of human beings together," irrespective of race, party, or creed was all important. If each individual in the wealthier countries gave only one penny a month much could be done to introduce to the peoples of the under-developed countries those co-operative methods by which they could raise their own standards of living—such methods, for e.g., as those of the Folk High School which he had recently been studying in Denmark, and hoped to introduce to Kenya on his return.

Such a gift would not be charity. The Western peoples would be creating for themselves the markets of the future; they would get their "five per cent."

At the close of the meeting, Norman Hamilton drew attention to the Bhoodan Well Fund, in co-operation with which the North London Council hoped to be able to "adopt" a well in India (i.e., provide the tools, piping, etc., for a particular well where Bhoodan workers are already organised in voluntary squads to carry out the work).

**Paper Jackets for Pacifists**





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A WAR between USSR and USA from whatever angle one views is could never be called "just." It would, on the contrary be the greatest crime that could be committed against humanity. And I believe that the preparation for war, piling up atomic bombs, etc., is therefore the preparation or premeditation of this crime. A revolt of the universal conscience is what we need right now. Does this conscience really exist?—Father Avril, OP, Catholic Worker, July-August, 1956.

## A call for peace

A CALL to "wake up whilst there is still time" was posted in the three main cities of Israel by the association Ihud shortly before the Israel invasion of Egypt.

It demanded that all retaliation actions and raids across the frontier be stopped; that real and effective care for the safety of citizens be taken, making full use of all possibilities given by local and general arrangements in keeping with UNO demands and the Armistice Agreement; that the authorities make an end to negligence and risking of human lives, and that a true and sincere attempt at understanding and peace with the neighbouring countries be made.

Ihud has been working for many years for a consistent and straightforward policy of peace, and for the bringing nearer to each other of the two peoples, Arabs and Jews, for the good of their countries and their inhabitants.

## POTTING THE RED

I AM not referring to taking cuttings from your garden.

The Government gave its total of 350 COs long before all the boys had been required to register as COs and it is known that the figure is really far beyond the 1,000 mark.

Clearly visible is the influence of different pacifist groups. There are regions where nearly all who registered are Jehovah's Witnesses, others where members of the German War Resisters' Branch dominate.



A demonstration against conscription in Germany.

The Minister of Defence has said that, of course, Germany has to maintain conscription as this has been promised to the Western Allies. On the other hand, however, he is of the opinion that quality ranks before quantity and that he needs no more than 350,000 men instead of the 500,000 he promised to the Allies.

Because of this, the authorities seem to have orders to be friendly towards COs.

A case in point is that of a boy who was resolved to refuse military service and who did not comply with the first summons. He openly stated that he would not obey yet he was notified by the authorities that he had presented himself as required.

Another case was of a boy who wished to register as a CO but was told "You may go home anyhow, your eyes are not up to standard."

## THE BIRDS HAVE FLOWN TO CHRISTMAS ISLAND

From a Stamford, (Lincs) Correspondent

THEY looked so peaceful in the sunlight, those great white birds at the Royal Air Force Station, Wittering.

The War Resisters' Council, too, has been active and many young people have asked for information about conscientious objection.

The Press, however, was unanimous in expecting the youth to accept "the necessity to defend the free world."

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An official statement has expressed the Government's deep satisfaction at the success of its campaign for military service. But what will happen when the young men born between 1925 and 1935 are called up? This is the generation which knows what war really means, which has felt and learned what madness it is to rely on weapons.

The present 20-year-olds who have been called for military service do not know what it means to state one's own opinion or to exercise one's legal rights. The vast majority could not resist the temptation of being trained in technical skills, which was one of the main points of the Government's advertising campaign for the army.

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But the young men of 20 wanted the opportunities and the skills which military service offered; to serve in the Army, Navy or Air Force promised much more pleasure.

These young soldiers will have to serve 12 months, while COs will have to serve nine months longer in alternative work. But conscripts will have to perform nine months as reservists so that COs will not serve any longer.

The German Labour Party, finding that only a small part of the population is following the strict rearmament policy, has now declared that it will respect the NATO treaty in all its implications.

There is, however, a deep-rooted antipathy against soldiers, and this sometimes leads to unpleasant excesses. In many parts of Germany quarrels have arisen.

The recent trial of 13 men accused of having knocked down a soldier of the new West German (volunteer) Army will shortly close.

The Attorney General, asking for a sentence of between one and three years for seven of the accused, stated that their attack was a dangerous development aimed at "the basis of our very existence." The Defence replied that "German youth has been systematically vaccinated with a horror against all things concerning soldiers. Youth must be confused. These young men are not guilty. We are guilty—the grown ups."

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MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, by Guy Wint and Peter Calvocoressi. A new and recommended "Penguin Special" 2s. 0d. (4d.)

ALBERT SCHWEITZER: An Introduction, by J. Feschotte 2s. 6d. (4d.)

THE DIARY OF A YOUNG GIRL, Anne Frank. The book that has moved the youth of Germany 2s. 0d. (4d.)

CRY KOREA, by Reginald Thompson 2s. 6d. (4d.)

THE EXECUTION OF PRIVATE SLOVIK, by Wm. B. Huie. The story of a US soldier who refused to fight 2s. 6d. (4d.)

ON THE EDGE OF THE PRIMEVAL FOREST, by Albert Schweitzer 2s. 0d. (4d.)

GANDHI: HIS LIFE AND MESSAGE, by Louis Fischer 2s. 6d. (4d.)

### Out next month:—

IS PEACE POSSIBLE by Kathleen Lonsdale 2s. 6d. (4d.)

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Quantities will be available for groups and meetings—send your order now. Please add postage as shown—maximum 2s.

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3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4



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**A** CALL to "wake up whilst there is still time" was posted in the three main cities of Israel by the association Ihud shortly before the Israel invasion of Egypt.

Ihud has been working for many years for a consistent and straightforward policy of peace, and for the bringing nearer to each other of the two peoples, Arabs and Jews, for the good of their countries and their inhabitants.

**I** AM not referring to taking cuttings from your geraniums, or even to ways of spreading Communism, but to billiards. And that not so much as a follow-up to the cricket illustrations a fortnight ago, but because I have been offered a billiard table to sell for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund.



But if you are not interested in billiards I hope you are interested in spreading pacifism and that you will therefore want to help the PPU Headquarters Fund in some other way. We have often profited from other gifts, e.g., jewellery, old silver, and if you have anything of that kind for which you have little use, we can make good use of it. Or, of course, we will welcome as always your gift of stamps, postal order or cheque.

Our aim for the year : £1,150  
Amount received to date : £126

The Minister of Defence has said that, of course, Germany has to maintain conscription as this has been promised to the Western Allies. On the other hand, however, he is of the opinion that quality ranks before quantity and that he needs no more than 350,000 men instead of the 500,000 he promised to the Allies.

Because of this, the authorities seem to have orders to be friendly towards COs.

A case in point is that of a boy who was resolved to refuse military service and who did not comply with the first summons. He openly stated that he would not obey yet he was notified by the authorities that he had presented himself as required.

Another case was of a boy who wished to register as a CO but was told "You may go home anyhow, your eyes are not up to standard."

**From a Stamford, (Lincs) Correspondent**

THEY looked so peaceful in the sunlight, those great white birds at the Royal Air Force Station, Wittering.

But they are gone now, those giant Vicker's Valiant bombers. The inhabitants of Stamford (Lincolnshire) will no longer be woken early by the savage whine of four jet engines warming up.

The birds have flown to Christmas Island in the sunny southern seas where it never rains. The people in Stamford will miss them, and their cheery crews who were our neighbours.

The man to whom we wished a cheery "Good Morning" every day has gone away. Gone away to drop hydrogen bombs on an island with a religious name. Will they still call it Christmas Island after the planes have dropped the deadly missiles, killing millions of living things in the aid of the "progress" of humanity?

The Valiants involved in the H-bomb test have been practising for many months, dropping dummy bombs on ranges on the East Coast.

Perhaps you have seen them flying by, glinting in the sun? They are painted white to reflect the flash of a nuclear explosion which might endanger the lives of the crew.

*If you saw them fly overhead or if you travelled on the A1 from London to Stamford recently and passed RAF Wittering, then perhaps you noticed a sinister bulge in the bellies of the Valiants. Inside that bulge will be enclosed all sorts of torture instruments. Racks, thumbscrews, cat-o'-nine-tails and various instruments to bring pain,*

The German Labour Party, finding that only a small part of the population is following the strict rearmament policy, has now declared that it will respect the NATO treaty in all its implications.

There is, however, a deep-rooted antipathy against soldiers, and this sometimes leads to unpleasant excesses. In many parts of Germany quarrels have arisen.

The recent trial of 13 men accused of having knocked down a soldier of the new West German (volunteer) Army will shortly close

The Attorney General, asking for a sentence of between one and three years for seven of the accused, stated that their attack was a dangerous development aimed at "the basis of our very existence." The Defence replied that "German youth has been systematically vaccinated with a horror against all things concerning soldiers. Youth must be confused. These young men are not guilty. We are guilty—the grown ups."

terror, death and misery to anyone upon whom they are inflicted. But pain, and torture went out in the Middle Ages you say.

But enclosed in one cylinder are all the instruments of torture, all the swords, spears, knives, clubs, guns, tanks, revolvers, mortars and hand grenades ever invented by man. All these have been collected together and made into one super killing machine called a hydrogen bomb.

But you are complacent. They will not kill you. No, they will not kill you. Only your brother and sister, your mother and father, your son and daughter. No, they will not kill you. If you are lucky you might not be killed when they drop the bomb. You might be lucky and escape with radiation poisoning. It would only take you ten years to die then.

And the man I bid good day to in the street only a few short weeks ago is now dropping instruments of torture, practising how many millions of innocent men, women and children he can kill.

But he looked no different from any other man in the street. He might have been you

He was you. You are guilty of the same crime as he. You allow these things to happen. Until they are stopped you cannot rest. For if you do, then you will be responsible for the murder of your brother and sister, your father and mother, and your son and daughter.

Unless you act now, you will be branded by history as the man who didn't care. The man who let it happen—the man who was responsible.

THE DIARY OF A YOUNG GIRL, Anne Frank.  
The book that has moved the youth of  
Germany 2s. 0d. (4d.)

CRY KOREA,  
by Reginald Thompson 2s. 6d. (4d.)

THE EXECUTION OF PRIVATE SLOVIK, by Wm. B. Huie. The story of a US soldier who refused to fight 2s. 6d. (4d.)

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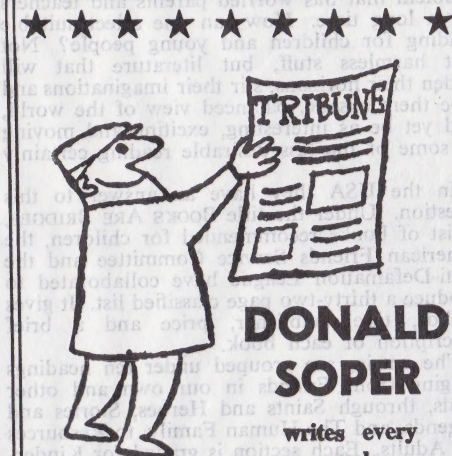
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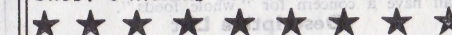
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## BOOKS

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**WALLACE HANCOCK reviews**

**A Dictionary of Politics**, by Florence Elliott and Michael Summerskill. (Penguin Reference Book, 4s.)

THIS book is almost indispensable to those who take an interest in foreign affairs or who want to discuss world problems with others. It is more than a Dictionary: it is a pocket political encyclopaedia. With over 300 pages it discusses the background of nearly 1,000 subjects of current world interest. The political institutions, recent histories, and economics of almost every independent state in the world are dealt with here. It is not a book to read, of course, but a book for reference.

In this fast moving world, this book, as with all reference books on current affairs, will date, but at this price one can afford to purchase up-to-date editions every few years.

Do you know all about the "Oder-Neisse Line," the "International Bank"; and "Dialectical Materialism"? Do you want particulars of the life of Hugh Gaitskell, Nehru, Nasser or Mendes-France? Here it all is with dates and particulars of pacts and treaties and everything you want about current affairs.

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In view of the current crisis in the party and in view of the author, who has also written a Penguin on the USSR, we might have expected something better.

This is not to belittle the tremendous upsurge of life which Russia has experienced since 1917 or the resulting industrial, educational and cultural achievements of her people. And whether we like it or not, this revolution did not come out of the blue, but was partly made possible by the Russian Communist State.

# NEUTRALITY FOR CENTRAL EUROPE?

by FRANCIS RONA

AUSTRIA regained her independence by agreement of the Four Powers two years ago. After the signing of the State Treaty by France, United Kingdom, USA and USSR on May 15, 1955 the occupational forces were withdrawn and the Austrian Parliament unanimously declared the country's *eternal neutrality*.

The Governments of the Four Powers acknowledged Austria's Declaration of Neutrality, which states that "she will not join any military alliance nor permit the establishment of any military bases of foreign powers on her territory." The same principle operates in neighbouring Switzerland, which kept out of all wars for one and a half centuries.

During the tragic events in Hungary last October there was a faint hope that the neutral area in Central Europe might be extended. It was the declared policy of the legally established Government of Imre Nagy—supported by the Social Democrats through their Chairman, Anna Kethly—to follow Austria's example and to obtain the consent of the Four Powers to a Hungarian Declaration of Eternal Neutrality. Unhappily Soviet intervention and the pre-occupation of the Western Powers with the British and French attack on Egypt put an end to Hungary's endeavours to get her case considered in a constructive way.

The Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, put Hungary's problem before world public opinion in a broadcast speech on January 20 and offered his Government's good offices:

"Hungary has common frontiers with neutralised Austria and some kind of neutralisation will certainly be welcomed by the Hungarian people," he said. The extension of the neutral zone would contribute to a general disentanglement in Central Europe, the more since such a step does not affect the security of anyone."

## WEST GERMAN COMMENTS

At the end of January free elections were held in Poland, and Moscow accepted the "Polish solution." Chancellor Raab's suggestion, however, was rejected by the Soviet Government, as reported by Tass in the "Osterr. Tageszeitung" on Jan. 26:

"The suggested meeting of the Big Four would be in the interest of an easing of the international situation. Herr Raab overlooked in his speech an important problem: disarmament and dissolution of the military blocs."

There were some favourable comments in West Germany; the "Merkur" in Munich, for example, pointed out the positive contribution in Chancellor Raab's proposal but remarked that "it may take time to get it considered . . . the fear of a loss of prestige is stopping Moscow from taking it up."

It appears that the neutralisation of Hungary is regarded by the Soviet Government

as a one-sided concession in the game of power politics in Central Europe. The paramount question is the unification of Germany and this can only be achieved by agreement of the Four Powers on the extension of the neutral area. The recent Soviet-East German agreement on the permanent stationing of Soviet troops is their reaction to Western strengthening of the Nato, Seato and Baghdad pacts, and the storing of nuclear weapons in West Germany.

In recent years the West has defended the fantastic waste of military expenditure and Germany's rearmament on the grounds of "negotiation from strength." Today the USA, owing to her growing influence in the Near East and the mistaken Russian intervention in Hungary, has obtained a "position of strength" but the idea of negotiation has been dropped.

The West German Government, according to Dr. Adenauer and his Foreign Minister Brentano, are against the neutralisation of Germany even after the unification. Russia's Mr. Gromyko, on the other hand, opposes the neutralisation of Hungary. Other Central European States, however, desire the extension of the neutral area.

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"Neue Züricher Zeitung", on March 16, published the replies to questions put by the Polish periodical "Zycie Warszawy" to several Foreign Ministers. Mr. Popovic (Yugoslavia) replied that Belgrade "is against the creation of blocs and favours a European Security Pact on the basis of the UN Charter, giving all European countries full sovereignty and independence." He acknowledged the leading role of Poland. Herr Wehner (Soc. Democrat), Chairman of West Germany's Foreign Affairs Committee in the Bundestag suggested a system of European Security

## Arab misery in Gaza Strip

*The Jewish Society for Human Service makes the following appeal "out of its deep concern for the plight of its Arab brethren. It is addressed to everyone whatever his faith or creed."*

THERE are some who are still capable of feeling, beneath the statistics of mass misery, the sufferings, as if in their own persons, of so many human beings like themselves. It is to all such that we appeal: we beg them to assist, by specific action and at once, in alleviating the dreadful plight of the Arab refugees, and particularly of those in the Gaza Strip.

**This misery, involving close on a million persons (half of them aged less than fifteen), has continued now for nine years.**

"One marvels," said the report of a Christian body last June, "that human beings can stand such tension, coupled with enforced idleness over such a long period of time, without complete loss of morale."

"Their morale is deteriorating and increasing numbers reveal psychopathic conditions." And now, in the Gaza area, "recent events have further increased their sense of frustration and of hopelessness" (UNRWA Report). We individuals can do little, directly, about that but we can at any rate see to it that the physical condition of the refugee is not utterly intolerable.

## DESTITUTE CONDITIONS

Clothes are the first need. UNRWA writes as follows:

"Rolls of cloth, which the refugees could themselves make up into clothes, would be of the very greatest value. The best type of cloth for the particular needs of Gaza would be unbleached calico. Other types of cloth which would be very useful would be thick flannel cloth, which the refugee women could put to a number of uses, flannelette for small children, fast-dyed cotton (such as gingham) of assorted colours for women and girls."

"As regards ready-made clothing, overcoats, suits, pullovers, socks and stout shoes would fill a very real need for the men. The adult women do not wear western dress, and in their case, apart from the cloth mentioned above, the most practical donation would be long-sleeved woollen sweaters; shoes are not suitable for the women. As for the children, any type of simple sensible clothing, including shoes, would be gratefully received."

Then we want money for shipping the goods; for buying wool and cloth; for getting baby-food at preferential rates; and for many other

## THE FAITH OF A DOCTOR

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This is not to belittle the tremendous upsurge of life which Russia has experienced since 1917 or the resulting industrial, educational and cultural achievements of her people. And whether we like it or not, this revolution did not come out of the blue, but was partly made possible by the Russian Communists. Since then Russian Communism has been badly warped, but some of its achievements are good, and we may hope they will tip the balance.

The author begins by quotations from British socialists. He then seeks to show that the Soviet Union in part embodies these men's aspirations. Naturally there is the usual stuff about means of production and distribution, which was the common jargon of international Socialism. But what the ordinary British Socialist meant was simply equality—that society should be organised so as to diminish rather than accentuate natural inequalities. Common ownership and social welfare are not enough.

Bismarck was ahead of his time in social welfare—and because he was, he undermined the socialist opposition, so that social welfare became virtually a weapon of autocracy. Similarly common ownership does not necessarily prevent a ruling class existing.

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Dr. Woodard has a plain commonsense approach to a subject in which there is a growing public interest and which has recently been reported on by a British Medical Association Committee.

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In Berlin on March 18, Mr. Gaitskell spoke in favour of a withdrawal of all foreign troops from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, West Germany and East Germany.

Mr. Gaitskell also agreed to a Security Pact to guarantee the neutrality and territorial integrity of these countries by the “Big Four”. Further, he offered to the Soviet Union the simultaneous withdrawal of West Germany from NATO if Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were released from the Warsaw Military Pact.

Not only the countries involved but also the Great Powers can gain by such an extension of the neutral zone. The cutting of the unbearable armament burden, the reduction of British and other forces abroad can bring a great improvement to all their economies.

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Then we want money for shipping the goods; for buying wool and cloth; for getting baby-food at preferential rates; and for many other purposes. Finally, toys, games, etc., for children of all ages will be most welcome.

Please send goods to the Jewish Society for Human Service, c/o Davies Turner and Co., 50a Bourne St., London, S.W.1; and money to The Treasurer, Jewish Society for Human Service, 14 Henrietta St., London, W.C.2. And please do so immediately.

“During my more than fourteen years with the prisoners of war and refugees of many nationalities in several different countries,” writes a Christian observer, “I have never seen people living under such destitute and inhuman conditions.”

We would add that whatever the regime in Gaza, the refugees there will still have to depend on UNRWA for the necessities of existence.

## What is Welsh Nationalism?

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In the USA they have an answer to this question. Under the title BOOKS ARE BRIDGES, a list of books recommended for children, the American Friends Service Committee and the Anti-Defamation League have collaborated to produce a thirty-two page classified list. It gives author, title, publisher, price and a brief description of each book.

The entries are grouped under ten headings ranging from Friends in our own and other lands, through Saints and Heroes, Stories and Legends, and The Human Family, to Resources for Adults. Each section is graded for Kindergarten, Primary and Junior High School children.

These books are, of course, all issued by American publishers—fifty-four different publishers are represented—a comparable selection of British titles would be most welcome.

The pamphlet is available from either of the issuing bodies at 25 cents.

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Col. Neblett points out that both in the United States and Russia, military men exercise such influence as to control the Government. He adds: "Until there is a change from military to civilian control of the Governments of the free and Communist worlds, there seems to be little, if any, hope for an understanding between us and Russia. Neither our Government nor the Russian Government has a plan for peace."

"There was never any reason for an armaments race. Its real purpose here was to keep our professional military forces at a level, high enough, to give Regular Officers continual employment until retirement at the high temporary ranks they held during and right after World War II and continued to hold under the national emergency declared during the Korean war."

Even if we assume that Eisenhower ended the Korean war, writes Col. Neblett, he has not ended the national emergency declared by President Truman in 1950. "It is under that old emergency that some ninety per cent of the officers in the regular services hold ranks from two to three grades above their permanent ranks, with the emoluments and pay that go with their inflated grades."

From Conscript News, published by the National Council Against Conscript, USA.

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To this end, and because he believes that if women and men students had the same ROTC training a "new generation of women would grow up knowing better the Army's role in protecting those things women hold most dear; their children and homes," he urges the institution of co-educational ROTC. He points out, "The Army doesn't attract enough mentally and educationally qualified young women at the age when they can be best indoctrinated."

Meanwhile, the Pentagon are dealing with another aspect of encouraging women into the Army.

Recently the Air Force has announced the establishment of a "Women Officers' Air Force ROTC Cadette Pilot Programme" at ten American universities.

Lt. Col. Willard L. Jones claims, "As teachers, wives and mothers, they will better understand the Army's story and spread it."

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Human Service, c/o Davies Turner and Co., 50a Bourne St., London, S.W.1; and money to The Treasurer, Jewish Society for Human Service, 14 Henrietta St., London, W.C.2. And please do so immediately.

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DR. DONALD SOPER

at

KINGSWAY HALL

Methodist Church

Sundays at 6.30 p.m., March 31 to April 21

THE UNITY OF TRUTH March 31

(Science and Religion)

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SAINTS April 7

THE MEANING OF WORSHIP April 14

THE TRIUMPH OF JESUS April 21



# Letters to the Editor

## John Middleton Murry

I SHOULD like to endorse the tributes to John Middleton Murry in last week's PN. I scarcely knew him personally, but through his literary and social criticism he influenced me profoundly; as he must have influenced many others whom the war jolted into an awareness of the need for a better sort of life, and better people to live it.

I rather think it was lack of the better people, more than his horror of totalitarianism, that drove him out of the pacifist movement. He was accused of splitting the movement. If this means he separated the wheat from the chaff, he did it a signal service. His best testimonial is its steady improvement in calibre and increase in realism over the past ten years.

But his vision of the new society is further from realisation than ever. His best memorial would be a rededication to that vision in terms of honest thinking, tolerance and compassion. —MARGARET TIMS, London, N.W.3.

## Youth Hostels in S. Africa

HAVING read about the International Youth Hostels in Britain and the very beneficial influence they have exercised, I was of course very pleased to hear that similar hostels were about to be started in this country. Great was my disappointment, therefore, when I learned that far from being International, the sponsors of the proposed hostels intended to exclude Africans, Indians, and all coloured people—that is the majority of the population of South Africa.

It would be a magnificent enterprise if even a fraction of our multi-racial youth could be brought together and have an opportunity to learn to know one another without prejudice. Surely then our whole youth would realise how unjustly they have judged their coloured sisters and brothers, many of whom are of the salt of the earth.

I fully realise all the difficulties involved, even the possibility that the government would object, but what great humanitarian effort has ever been approved of in its initial stage by the government.

Admittedly a good many of European youth would not at first join us, but rather let us be content to begin in a small way, realising that if we once practise Apartheid (segregation) in youth hostels, it would be impossible to inculcate a spirit of love and charity to all or the golden rule that we should do to others as we would be done by.

Those who with faith courageously hitch their wagon to a star, achieve more than those who simply and consider expediency. —ELSI

which entitles them to stay in the hostels of any member Association of the International Federation. It is quite certain that the present Government of South Africa will not permit the establishment of multi-racial hostels.

## War crimes

SOONER or later pacifists are told something like this: "What about Hitler and the Jews? Would you have stood back and allowed him to exterminate them?"

It is in this connection that I draw attention to the following, not widely known, facts:

Hitler gave the following speech to the Reichstag on January 30, 1939.

"Today I will once more be a prophet. If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevisation of the earth and thus a victory of Jewry but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe." (THE SPEECHES OF ADOLF HITLER, Oxford University Press, 1942, 2 vols.)

In his book THE SCOURGE OF THE SWASTIKA, Lord Russell of Liverpool makes the following significant statement:

"When war was declared there were six concentration camps in Germany holding in all about 20,000 prisoners. During the next two years more camps were built some of them now household names: Auschwitz, Belsen, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen.

"During the war (my italics G.M.G.), on the lowest computation, twelve million men, women and children from the invaded and occupied territories were done to death by the Germans. Speaking of these, Sir Hartley Shawcross, the chief prosecutor for the United Kingdom at the trial of the major war criminals, said in his closing speech, 'Twelve million murders! Two-thirds of the Jews in Europe exterminated, more than six million of them on the killer's own figures.'"

Hitler's paranoia against Jewry was obviously at no greater pitch than regarding the question of war and throve like the malignant disease it was in the very environment of it.

While viewing with the utmost abhorrence these unparalleled crimes committed by Hitler and his fellow megalomaniacs, it seems evident that all those militarists, from whatever country, race or creed, who took part in and had responsibility for World War II must also take their proportionate share of the blame, for providing the environmental conditions which helped to precipitate the above enormities.

May no pacifist be backward in pointing this out where necessary. —GEORGE M.

pulsion to vote in any particular manner other than in accordance with my own conscience.

It is this lack of freedom of conscience which makes membership of the Labour Party difficult, if not impossible, for the pacifist.—S. W. BISHOP, 11 Bazile Road, Grange Park, London, N.12.

## Pacifist political parties

TERENCE CHIVERS is partly right in saying pacifists seek a change of heart, but heart and head cannot be divorced. Some will vote for disarmament because they are intellectually convinced that it is the practical way to security; others because they believe it is right.

Pacifists must, therefore, work through a variety of methods to influence men's minds and hearts.

Legislation, however, must not be despised: for instance, making slavery illegal in Britain ended it much sooner than waiting for all slave-owners to have changes of heart. Just laws, moreover, do not require coercion, certainly not by violence.

To my mind, pacifist political parties such as the Fellowship Party and the Christian Party have a two-fold purpose: not solely to work for the return of pacifists as such to Parliament, but to convert electors to pacifism, to persuade men and women to put loyalty to Christian and moral standards above class, national and personal interests.—R. STEPHEN, Orpington, Kent.

## Fellowship Party

BOTH Mr. Comerford and Mr. Brian are trying to make the Labour Party pacifist. We in the Fellowship Party are trying to make the general public accept the idea of Pacifist Government. Judging by the degree of resistance in each case I think the odds are on the Fellowship Party succeeding before the Labour Peace Fellowship.

In the early years of this century the Liberals were the progressive party and the Tories the reactionaries. Because people noticed very little difference between these two parties, the tiny Labour Party emerged and, in time, eliminated the Liberal Party. Now the Labour Party and the Tory Party exchange the role of government and people are again beginning to notice the very slight difference between the two. So the tiny Fellowship Party is seeking to provide the real pacifist alternative. History can repeat itself.—A. LEAPER, 22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

## Independent Labour Party

JOHN LOVERSEED'S letter (PN, March 1) is unanswerable in so far as it points to the necessity of a collective opposition to war and to the hydrogen bomb. I would also agree when he condemns as fiddling the activities of those who take up an attitude of purely

March 29, 1957—PEACE NEWS—5

degree) has throughout its history tried to mobilise opposition to war in the only finally effective way, the change in the basis of society from the war-economy of private or State capitalism to the peace-economy of equalitarian Socialism.

In a specific programme of opposition to a prospective world war which would destroy civilisation, and also to the hydrogen bomb tests which are imperilling posterity even without war (and the opposition to the tests by those who support the manufacture is inconsistent face-saving), the ILP and the Fellowship Party and others will find themselves working together.—WILFRED WIGHAM, Political Secretary, Independent Labour Party, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## Dynamic alternative

MOST people want only to live in peace but they are too busy with the daily round of work and pleasure to do much or think very deeply about it. At the moment they are being sold the idea that deterrents and armed strength will prevent war altogether. This is the same sort of popular notion as the idea that the 1914 war would end all wars and it has no foundation whatsoever. Since the Labour Party executive subscribes to this sorry notion, even pacifists in the Labour Party are helping to foster it by their very existence in the Party. They may declare often enough that they do not agree with the making and testing of H-bombs but the average elector imagines that they remain in the party because this is not really a matter of supreme importance; which, of course, it is.

Although the Labour Peace Fellowship may do much good and is deserving of support in those constituencies where it presents candidates, it is essential that a Pacifist Party should give the elector a more reasonable alternative everywhere else. It is surprising how many people will vote for a pacifist even now.

Given a little more support the Fellowship Party can oppose the disciples of militarism, at every important by-election and in many local elections. Eventually it may well provide the country with an even more dynamic alternative to the Tory Party than the Labour organisation itself. In the meantime it can win invaluable publicity for the pacifist point of view.

I do beg all of your readers, even those who still adhere loyally to the Labour Party, to give some support to the Fellowship Party in its infancy.—R. S. TRAFFORD, 200 Eastfield Rd., Peterborough.

## Passive resistance

IF parties of non-violent resisters would go down to the hunt meets, we could perhaps contribute a great deal back to the nation.



... Youth Hostels in Britain and the very beneficial influence they have exercised, I was of course very pleased to hear that similar hostels were about to be started in this country. Great was my disappointment, therefore, when I learned that far from being International, the sponsors of the proposed hostels intended to exclude Africans, Indians, and all coloured people—that is the majority of the population of South Africa.

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Those who with faith courageously hitch their wagon to a star, achieve more than those who aim low and consider expediency.—**ELSIE MANNING**, Capetown, S. Africa.

Asked to comment on Elsie Manning's letter, H. L. Knapp, National Secretary of the England and Wales YHA, writes: "It is true that coloured people are not admitted to the hostels of the South African YHA and, on account of this, the Association has not been admitted to membership of the International Youth Hostel Federation. The Association has agreed to help to develop a parallel non-European YHA when conditions and finance permit. The Association has been authorised to issue International Membership Cards (not available for use in South African hostels) to persons of any colour,

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May no pacifist be backward in pointing this out where necessary.—**GEORGE M. GREGORY**, Tadworth, Surrey.

## Church and Labour Party

IT SEEMS TO ME that the analogy which Dennis Brian wishes to draw between the Church and the Labour Party is misconceived. I am a member of the Church of England and disagree with the Archbishop of Canterbury's views on many matters, particularly capital punishment and war. I am also a member of my Church Council and the Ruri-Decanal Conference.

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## Passive resistance

IF parties of non-violent resisters would go down to the hunt meets, we could perhaps contribute a great deal both to the extinction of violent predilections in people's characters and to our own theories of the method and effect of passive resistance.—**ANTONY STEEL**, 4 Erskine Hill, London, N.W.11.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

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**SOUTHEAST:** 8 p.m.: Westcliff Congregational Church, Kings Rd. Pax Christi AGM. Speaker, Dr. A. D. Belden. Pax Christi.

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**LONDON, N.5:** 16 Aberden Rd. Day of Prayer for Peace. 12.30 p.m.: Sung Eucharist and short address. 4 p.m.: Public Mtg. and discussion of the Religion Commission of the PPU. 6 p.m.: Intercessions, Address, Rev. G. Paget King.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 6.45 p.m.: Temperance Inst., Carlton Cres. 3rd Annual CO Reunion. Guest Speaker, Rev. Arnold Bellwood, RA.

**PLAISTOW:** 8.15 p.m.: Congregational Church, Barking Rd. Film "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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## Wednesday, April 3

**HASTINGS:** 7 p.m.: 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Monthly mtg. Phillip Millwood, "Conscription in Britain." Chair, Frances Morgan. Friends welcome. PPU.

**LONDON, N.4:** 8 p.m.: 63 Wilberforce Rd. John Loverseed and others. "Pacifist Activity in North London." Fellowship Party.

## Thursday, April 4

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Hugh Garside, "Protection of Racial Minorities." Peace Pledge Union.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 8 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. Rev. Jack Austin, "Buddhism the Way of Peace." Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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## ACCOMMODATION

**HOMELY ACCOMMODATION** and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340, Telkeas Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

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**DERBYSHIRE HILLS:** "The Briars" for happy country holidays in friendly atmosphere. Brochure from Mr. and Mrs. Heymans, Crich, n/r Matlock.

**MOSCOW WELCOMES YOU** to the World Youth Festival in August! Holiday-of-a-lifetime for only £47 all-in. Sports, events, films, drama, music, free and open discussion with the youth of the world. Don't miss this great chance to see the world—and hear what it has to say! If you're under 30 write today (enclosing sae) for full details to Dept. P., British Youth Festival Committee, 351 Goswell Rd., London, E.C.1.

**NORFOLK COAST.** Quiet village, Broad district; excellent beach. Vegetarian and conventional catering. H. & C. all bedrooms. Woodbine Guest House, Sea Palling. Tel. Hickling 236.

**NORTH WALES.** Vegetarian guest house, nr. mountains and sea. Lovely woodland garden. Brochure from Jeannie and George Lake, Plas-y-Coed, Penmaen Park, Llanfairfechan,



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### Sunday, March 31

**ABERDEEN:** 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 98 Crown St. Discussion, "South Uist Protest." PPU and For.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1.

### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

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### Saturday, April 6

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 2 p.m.-7.30 p.m.; Hope Ho., 45 Gt. Peter St. AGM. Visitors welcome. Labour Peace Fellowship.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Speaker from the New Renaissance School. Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

### Saturday-Monday, April 6-8

**LEIGHTON PARK:** Reckitt Ho., Leighton Park School. Annual Conference for boys facing conscription. Society of Friends.

### Tuesday, April 9

**LONDON, N.13:** 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church Hall, Bowes Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Southgate Council of Churches and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

### Thursday, April 11

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Muriel Barnard, "A Question of Colour." Peace Pledge Union.

### Friday, April 12

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mrs. Grace Coleman, "The Barrier of Colour in Southern Rhodesia," postponed from March 8. Chairman, Sybil Morrison. Refreshments from 6 p.m. Peace Pledge Union and Peace News.

### Saturday, April 13

**LEYTONSTONE:** 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Bring-and-Buy Sale. Anl. Reunion Concert, E.10 and E.11 Gp. PPU.

**PLYMOUTH:** 2.30 p.m.; Rear of Friends Mtg. Ho., Ford Park Lane, Mutley. Poster Parade through City Centre as a demonstration against the H-bomb tests at Christmas Island. Plymouth Joint Pacifist Committee.

### Tuesday, April 16

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; London Area's AGM. 6 Endsleigh St. Coffee at 7 p.m. Peace Pledge Union.

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**WANTED**—quiet place for caravan, country, easy reach London. Reasonable yearly rent. Occasional use given if wished. Vereker, 9 Oakley St., S.W.3.

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# THE NEW MISSILES

## A preview of the Defence White Paper

By George Wigg, MP

The writer is not a pacifist. Mr. Wigg, Labour MP for Dudley, was Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of War in the 1945 Labour Government and served in the army from 1919 to 1937 and again from 1940 to 1946. What he has written here does not, therefore, express a pacifist point of view but is an assessment of British military policy, written at the request of Peace News.

LAST January Mr. Duncan Sandys took Mr. Antony Head's place as Minister of Defence and the rumours began.

Defence costs were to be slashed. Economic stability and a popular Budget were to follow the 1957 Defence White Paper. National Service was to end. The political fortunes of the Government were to soar. All this and heaven too were to flow from Mr. Sandys's new defence thinking.

Nor did the sunshine stories come exclusively from Government writers. The Daily Herald told us that the Government's proposals to abolish National Service were based on plans advocated by the Labour Party's defence experts.

The stories grew so tall that Mr. Sandys, on his return from visiting President Eisenhower, struck a note of caution. "Some of these speculations of astronomical cuts in defence," he said, "belong more to the Geophysical Year than to the realms of reality." But although this statement checked some of the nonsense, the general expectation still is that Mr. Sandys will somehow achieve near miracles.

Certainly the 1957 Defence White Paper is eagerly awaited. Normally it appears during the third week of February, but this year we are at the end of March and we still do not know for certain when it will appear. Its repeated postponement has sharpened public curiosity about its contents and when it is published I hope we shall find that Mr. Sandys has concentrated on seeking sound long-term policies rather than relying on a policy of minor pruning in order to get quick results.

### THE CALL UP

For I am convinced that defence policies, whether they be those of expansion, as at the time of the Korean war, or of contraction, as at the present time, can be successful only over fairly lengthy periods. It does not matter whether the policies are concerned with manpower, supply of equipment, or costs, the problem is the same; it all takes time. Beware, then, of those who promise simple, speedy

Defence White Paper had to wait on the result of the Bermuda Conference and only now, after the talks are over, does the picture become a little clearer.

The decision to allow the American intermediate missile "Thor" to be launched from British bases must be seen against the background of events. First it must be remembered that the Labour Government permitted the United States Air Force to station B.47 aircraft in Britain. These aircraft are under the orders of the Strategic Air Command, United States Air Force, and their mission in war would be to drop the nuclear missile on targets selected by Strategic Air Command.

It was the knowledge that the selection of targets by Britain and America might not coincide that led Britain to build her own V bomber force.

This force, as it has developed, reveals that the British V bomber has an advantage over the B.47, particularly in its capacity to attain a high altitude over the target. The capability of the B.47 has also been overshadowed by the B.52 coming into operational use by the United States Air Force. The B.52 is superior in every way to both the British V bombers and the United States B.47. Leaving airfields in the United States it can bomb any spot on earth provided it can be re-fuelled both on the outward and homeward journey.

Thus USA airfields in Britain cease to have importance as bases from which nuclear attack can be launched on the Soviet Union but they become important as bases from which air-tankers can take off in order to re-fuel B.52s.

In short the role of Britain as an aircraft carrier has changed; we have become a petrol station and a rocket site.

At the same time the Americans are in the process of developing the intermediate range ballistic missile "Thor." This missile with a range of 1,500 miles is not yet in operational production.

LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

## Lunatic assumptions

By Sybil Morrison

*The security of the free world must continue to depend to a marked degree upon the nuclear deterrent . . . American guided missiles, including Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile, will be made available for use by British Forces. Atomic warheads for the missiles will also be available on the launching sites.*

—Communique from Bermuda, March 24, 1957.

*Asked how Britain would feel about being a base for these weapons, The Prime Minister said if they ever had to be used their purpose would have failed. Their purpose was to prevent war . . .*

—Daily Telegraph, March 25, 1957.

LOGIC is the science that deals with the method of reasoning, and the word "logical" has come to mean sound reasoning, and "illogical" unsound reasoning. All reasoning proceeds from some first assumption, and if it is based and proceeds from a false premise it can no longer be accounted sound, and may even prove to be disastrous.

The leaders of the world today, both in the Western and the Eastern blocs, have based their decisions, whether it be about the H-bomb tests, H-bombs, or guided atomic missiles, upon the assumption that these hideous possessions will deter those who hold them from ever using them.

"If they are ever used, says Britain's Prime Minister, 'they will have failed of their purpose.' An assumption with as big an *if* as this attached to it, can scarcely be taken as a soothing thought for those who may suffer in the event of that failure.

That maniacs should reason in this way would probably not cause any particular surprise in the lunatic asylum, but in the so-called sane world, let alone the allegedly "free" world, it is a most dangerous assumption, perhaps the most dangerous that has ever been made by responsible leaders.

It has never been possible to maintain peace through the strength of arms possessed by one or more nations; the fallacy of "peace through strength" has been exploded more than once. Armament races have invariably ended in the clash of war between the rival racers.

There is no reason why the H-bomb race should be different in this respect, other than the sheer horror of its devastating and totally disastrous consequences.

This, naturally, gives statesmen pause but nevertheless, unless their determination not to use it is based upon a moral repugnance to the evil of it, there are circumstances in which some one nation might decide to take a chance

But to declare that these forbidding and frightful weapons must be retained, and retained at all costs, is to base the future actions of governments and peoples upon a consummate evil, the greatest evil perhaps, that the human race has ever known.

★

As the guided missile ranges are built, as the H-bomb stockpiles grow, as the change-over from man-power to monstrous machines proceeds, so does the tension mount, and so does the danger increase.

Standing upon these quivering quicksands of abomination, it might be supposed that some tremor would give warning of the threatened engulfment. But no sign of any such apprehension appears; there is, in fact, nothing to be seen or heard but the calmest complacency from these golf and cricket playing maniacs of Bermuda.

The tests will go on, the bombs will be made, the British will welcome supplies of these instruments of the devil, and there is apparently no voice of sanity to say "No," not only to this dangerous lunacy, but to the dire iniquity of these policies and these actions.

The challenge comes, therefore, from pacifism, and the challenge must be forthright to the tragic and impossible assumption that evil can conquer evil; it may deter for a time, but it cannot be victorious. Only good can win the victory over evil; only the renunciation of war can bring peace to mankind.

## ATTEMPT TO BURN CLUB FAILS

by BASIL DELAINE

Lusaka, March 23.

The Multi-racial Club at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, was raided this week and an attempt made to burn it down.

Two men, identified by an African servant as Europeans, were seen to enter the premises through an unlocked door at midnight.

The raiders carried a tin of petrol which they



told us that the Government's proposals to abolish National Service were based on plans advocated by the Labour Party's defence experts.

The stories grew so tall that Mr. Sandys, on his return from visiting President Eisenhower, struck a note of caution. "Some of these speculations of astronomical cuts in defence," he said, "belong more to the Geophysical Year than to the realms of reality." But although this statement checked some of the nonsense, the general expectation still is that Mr. Sandys will somehow achieve near miracles.

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For I am convinced that defence policies, whether they be those of expansion, as at the time of the Korean war, or of contraction, as at the present time, can be successful only over fairly lengthy periods. It does not matter whether the policies are concerned with manpower, supply of equipment, or costs, the problem is the same; it all takes time. Beware, then, of those who promise simple, speedy solutions to complex defence problems. There are no quick, easy answers. For example, I am sure that those who forecast the early abolition of National Service mean what they say. They really believe it can be done and they are convinced that Mr. Sandys will outline proposals in the Defence White Paper which will lead to the end of National Service in the near future.

My own reading of the situation is very different. I think the White Paper will indicate that the policy introduced in October, 1955 of allowing the age of the call-up to rise to 19 years of age by March, 1958 will be extended over the coming years so that by March 1960 the age of National Service call-up will be 20.

**I do not believe that the Government have seriously considered the introduction of selective service and I do not think that subject will be mentioned in the White Paper.**

If this is the right analysis the present system of exempting coal miners, agricultural workers, merchant seamen, scientific research workers, etc., from National Service will continue but we shall go on pretending that the call-up is universal.

### GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

As a first step towards creating the conditions in which it may one day be possible to get rid of National Service, the Government will probably withdraw the three years with the colours and four years with the reserve regular engagement for the Army and at the same time may modify the right, open to the long service 22-year engagement men, to give notice to leave the Army at three-year intervals. The object of the Government's manpower policy, which was

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### LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

This brings me up against another aspect of the Bermuda announcement which I cannot understand. "Thor" is an operational weapon of the future. Some say it will be five years or more before it will be ready for use from British launching sites. The Times said the other day it would be two years. If we accept The Times figure, why give the Soviet Union two years advance notice that nuclear rocket launching sites are to be built in Britain directed at the heart of Russia? This is not a defence policy for Great Britain: the "Thor" launching sites to be built here are part of the defence of the United States.

Nor is this all. The "Thor" launching sites are to be manned by combined British and American teams but only the Americans retain control of the nuclear war-heads. In other words the Americans are to keep the key to the cupboard and will open it only when it suits American, and not British, policy, to do so—surely a queer idea of partnership. On this basis we are not so much a satellite as a vassal.

The danger is that we shall now get the worst of every world:

● We shall not get economic independence because we shall still insist on building a little bit of everything—and that we cannot afford.

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There was no hesitation in using the atom bomb against people from whom there could be no reprisal, and if that dreadful weapon had not been so used there would be no nuclear weapon race today.

To argue that an action is so evil that it must by its very nature deter would be a very different matter, for the refusal then to take such action would be based upon the belief that evil must be eschewed, not excused.

## Cyprus and NATO

★ FROM PAGE ONE

Governments which it largely represents are Colonial powers which are not likely to recognise rights of self-government and self-determination. The Cypriots are not prepared to place their fate in the hands of a group of nations dominated in Europe by Britain and France.

The tragic feature of this situation is that Archbishop Makarios and the Ethnarchy, the political-religious organisation which is the voice of Cyprus, are known to be ready to suspend all violence whilst negotiations for a settlement are in progress.

**The British Government should have seized this opportunity with both hands. Instead of that, Mr. Lennox Boyd has maintained his previous attitude that the Archbishop must first denounce violence itself.**

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There was little damage and there were no casualties.

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## War on Want meeting

**TWO HUNDRED** delegates and interested individuals have already arranged to attend the Council for War on Want's National Conference to be held at the Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1, on Saturday, April 6, commencing at 2 p.m.

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Navy ...	80,000 to 90,000
RAF .....	110,000 to 120,000
Army ...	200,000

Although the Navy and possibly the RAF may be able to recruit sufficient Regulars, it is my conviction that when the run-down reaches 400,000 there will still be a gap between the total number of Regulars in the Army and the minimum strength compatible with its commitments. I believe that gap will be very difficult, if not impossible, to bridge.

The defence question which interests most people is the cost. In my view the Defence White Paper will propose a voted provision by Parliament of about £1,450 millions, a saving of £86 millions on the 1956/57 figure. Further savings will depend on policy decisions. I believe the Government have decided to limit expenditure on fighter aircraft, and will also concentrate production on the V class bombers, and even the number of those may be restricted.

**The decision to limit the bomber development and production emphasises the importance of the Bermuda missile agreement. In my opinion the publication of the**

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## Pilgrimage

● FROM PAGE ONE

This will be divided equally between reputable organisations concerned with Hungarian and Egyptian relief.

Finally I want to insist that anybody will be welcome to join the march at any point on it and for any length of time. At the moment there is a small nucleus of half a dozen who are able to march the whole way, but many people—and I may add that I am one of them—are prevented by their work from doing so.

To make a really impressive show we shall rely on large numbers of part-time marchers. Presumably many of these will come from areas near or on the route, but my own intention is to go up from London and rejoin the pilgrimage whenever I am able to get away.

Please give us all the support you can.

### Where the pilgrimage will halt at night

April 7, Withington; 8, Monks Heath; 9, Scholar's Green; 10, Newcastle-under-Lyme; 11, Walton; 12, Penkridge; 13 and 14, Walsall; 15, Birmingham; 16, Meriden; 17, Willensall; 18 and 19, Donchurch; 20 and 21, Weedonbeck; 22, Lavenden; 23, Wilshampstead; 24, Streasley; 25, Harpenden; 26, St. Albans; Edgware or London about April 27 or 28.

Further information may be had from the Association at 37 Charlwood Street, London, S.W.1.

bomb against people who are not the cause of the danger, and if that dreadful weapon had not been so used there would be no nuclear weapon race today.

To argue that an action is so evil that it must by its very nature deter would be a very different matter, for the refusal then to take such action would be based upon the belief that evil must be eschewed, not excused.

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The British Government should have seized this opportunity with both hands. Instead of that, Mr. Lennox Boyd has maintained his previous attitude that the Archbishop must first denounce violence itself.

Many of us would have been glad if from the beginning the Cypriot resistance had been on the lines which Gandhi proved successful in India, but British Imperialists, and particularly Mr. Lennox Boyd, who was a supporter of Franco's fascists in Spain, have no right to ask for a repudiation of violence in principle.

It is likely that Archbishop Makarios will be willing to appeal to the Cypriots to suspend all violence so that negotiations can begin, but he may feel that if he condemns violence in general this may be used to justify the extreme penalty against the leaders of EOKA who have led the rebellion. That he will not do. One can only hope that the more moderate elements which are in the British Government will overcome the intransigence of Sir John Harding and Mr. Lennox Boyd.

Cyprus reflects in Europe the danger of military pacts which already exists in the Middle East and South East Asia and which may spread to Africa. The Baghdad Pact threatens the independence of Arab nations and is in the background of the Kashmir dispute.

In Asia, SEATO has insignificant support among the peoples and is rightly resented as an imposition of the Western Powers.

Proposals are now being actively considered for a military pact in Africa with Mombassa or Dar-es-Salaam as its strategic point in the East and perhaps Freetown in Sierra Leone as its strategic point in the west.

The warning should be sounded that democracy and freedom will always be in danger if military alliances are formed by external Powers over the heads of the peoples.

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